

Message Text

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PAGE 01 SAO PA 00801 01 OF 02 181226Z
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AMCONSUL SALVADOR POUCH

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 SAO PAULO 0801

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PGOV, PINT, BR
SUBJ: DIVIDED MDB ELECTS CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS; TRIES TO
DEVELOP NATIONAL STRATEGY

REF: 1977 SAO PAULO 3039

SUMMARY: THE STRAINS APPARENT IN THE MDB LAST NOVEMBER (REFTEL)
BECAME CRYSTALLIZED ON MARCH 2 WITH THE ELECTION OF MODERATE
DEPUTY TANCREDO NEVES AS THE MINORITY LEADER IN THE CHAMBER,
DEFEATING "AUTENTICO" LEADER FREITAS NOBRE BY ONLY TWO VOTES.
THE DIVISION OF MDB CONGRESSMEN INTO TWO BLOCS WAS FURTHER DEMON-
STRATED BY THE ELECTION IN THE SENATE, WHERE THE 20 MDB SENATORS
WERE DEADLOCKED SINCE JUST BEFORE THE CONGRESSIONAL RECESS LAST
DECEMBER BETWEEN MODERATE FRANCO MONTORO AND AUTENTICO PAULO
BROSSARD BEFORE ELECTING THE LATTER TO THE MONORITY LEADERSHIP
ON MARCH 15. THE CENTRAL ISSUE IS ONE OF PARTY STRATEGY IN THE
FACE OF THE GOVERNMENT'S PROPOSED INSTITUTIONAL CHANGES --
MODERATES STAND FOR NEGOTIATING WITH THE GOVERNMENT IN HOPES OF
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PAGE 02 SAO PA 00801 01 OF 02 181226Z

TRADING SOME SUPPORT FOR POSSIBLE CONCESSIONS BY THE GOVERNMENT;
AUTENTICOS BELIEVE THE OPPOSITION SHOULD REFUSE TO NEGOTIATE WITH
THE GOVERNMENT. MEANWHILE, THE NOVEMBER 15,1978 CONGRESSIONAL
ELECTIONS ARE BECOMING A MORE PRESSING ISSUE, URGING PARTY UNITY.
UNITED, THE OPPOSITION HOPES TO OBTAIN, FOR THE FIRST TIME, A
MAJORITY IN THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES. THE PROSPECT OF THE CREATION OF
ADDITIONAL PARTIES AFTER THE ELECTIONS, HOWEVER, HAS THE EFFECT

OF STIMULATING FACTIONS WITHIN THE PARTY. THE MDB IS FACED WITH THE TASK OF RECONCILING THESE ISSUES, FINDING CAMPAIGN ISSUES TO SUBSTITUTE THE ALL-OR-NOTHING APPROACH FOR A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY, (ADOPTED AT THE PARTY'S NATIONAL CONVENTION LAST SEPTEMBER) WHILE RETAINING THE SUPPORT OF EX-PARTY PRESSURE GROUPS WHICH THREATEN TO PRESS THEIR DEMANDS WITHOUT REGARD TO THE MDB. AREAN AND ADMINISTRATION STRATEGY WILL BE TO TRY TO KEEP THE MDB OFF BALANCE THROUGH THE ELECTIONS. THE TWO MDB FACTIONS ARE EXPECTED TO PAPER OVER THEIR DIFFERENCES FOR THE ELECTIONS, BUT THE DIVISIONS WITHIN THE OPPOSITION MAKE THE LONG TERM UNITY OF MDB PROBLEMATIC. END SUMMARY:

1. THE MARCH 2 ELECTION OF MINAS GERAIS DEPUTY TANCREDO NEVES AS MINORITY LEADER IN THE CHAMBER CAPPED A FIVE MONTH CONTEST BETWEEN NEVES AND FORMER LEADER FREITAS NOBRE. HIS 77 TO 75 VICTORY LEFT THE DEFEATED AUTENTICOS OUT OF SORTS, THE MODERATES EUPHORIC, AND ARENA MORE CONFIDENT. THE CENTRAL ISSUE IN THE ELECTION WAS HOW THE OPPOSITION SHOULD DEAL WITH THE GOVERNMENT'S STILL UNSPECIFIED PROPOSALS FOR CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGE. TANCREDO HAS STATED THAT HE BELIEVES THAT THE MDB SHOULD DISCUSS THE CHANGES WITH THE GOVERNMENT, BUT RESERVE ITS POSITION ON WHETHER IT SHOULD VOTE FOR THEM WHEN PRESENTED TO THE CONGRESS LATER THIS YEAR. FREITAS NOBRE STANDS FOR THE BELIEF THAT UNTIL THE GOVERNMENT INDICATES THAT IT IS WILLING TO UNDERTAKE SWEEPING CHANGES TO RESTORE DEMOCRACY, THE OPPOSITION SHOULD REFUSE TO PARTICIPATE IN NEGOTIATIONS LEADING TO CHANGES. AFTER THE ELECTION, CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 SAO PA 00801 01 OF 02 181226Z

FREITAS NOBRE DID NOT ATTEND NEVES' INITIAL SPEECH AS LEADER. HE TOLD CONGEN OFF THAT HE INTENDS TO LEAD THE AUTENTICOS AS A PARLIAMENTARY BLOC, KEEPING HIS DISTANCE FROM THE MODERATE LEADERSHIP.

2. THE ISSUE WAS ALSO JOINED AMONG MDB SENATORS, WITH SOME VARIATIONS. MODERATE SENATOR FRANCO MONTORO TRIED FOR HIS THIRD RE-ELECTION AS MINORITY LEADER, PARTLY TO PROVIDE UNITY TO THE PARTY'S MODERATE LEADERSHIP, PARTLY TO BLOSTER HIS SENATORIAL RE-ELECTION CAMPAIGN. NINE OF THE 20 MDB SENATORS SUPPORTED HIM; NINE SUPPORTED AUTENTICO PAULO BROSSARD (WHO HAS BEEN ACCURATELY DESCRIBED AS AN ORATORICAL RADICAL, BUT AN IDEOLOGICAL CONSERVATIVE). THREE SEPARATE VOTES RESULTED IN STALEMATES. BOTH SENATORS RENOUNCED THEIR CANDIDACIES, BUT WERE EACH PROPOSED AGAIN BY THEIR NINE SUPPORTERS. FINALLY, ON MARCH 15, MONTORO RELENDED IN THE NAME OF ROTATION OF THE LEADERSHIP AND TO PERMIT THE AUTENTICOS TO HAVE ONE NATIONAL LEADERSHIP POSITION. BROSSARD'S ELECTION IS A HOPEFUL SIGN FOR PARTY UNITY. OTHER AUTENTICOS WILL LOOK TO HIM TO KEEP THE REST OF THE PARTY LEADERSHIP FAITHFUL TO OPPOSITION GOALS. THE AUTENTICOS' CONCERN IS DUE TO THE FACT THAT THE MDB'S OTHER THREE PRINCIPLE LEADERS -- PRESIDENT ULYSSES GUIMARAES, SECRETARY GENERAL THALES RAMALHAO AND CHAMBER MINORITY LEADER

TANCREDO NEVES -- ARE ALL FROM THE OLD PSD PARTY, NOTED FOR HAVING PARTICIPATED IN EVERY GOVERNMENT SINCE GETULIO VARGAS CREATED IT. BUT BROSSARD'S TENUOUS SUPPORT AMONG HIS SENATE COLLEAGUES WILL REQUIRE HIM TO SEEK CONSENSUS FOR POSITIONS HE DEFENDS.

3. THE ATTITUDE OF MDB CONGRESSMEN CONCERNING THE ADMINISTRATION'S PROPOSED INSTITUTIONAL CHANGES DEPENDS ON THEIR ESTIMATE OF HOW MUCH DISCRETIONARY AUTHORITY THE GOVERNMENT IS PREPARED TO GIVE UP. THE MODERATES POSITION IS BASED ON THE FACT THAT, SINCE THE CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES DECREED LAST APRIL, THE CONSTITUTION CAN BE AMENDED BY A SIMPLE MAJORITY. THE GOVERNMENT CAN PUT THROUGH THE CHANGES IT WISHES, WITHOUT RECOURSE TO MDB SUPPORT. HOWEVER, AN MDB REFUSAL TO CONSIDER THE CHANGES WOULD TEND TO CHARACTERIZE THE CHANGES AS FORCED BY THE GOVERNMENT. THUS, IT
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 SAO PA 00801 01 OF 02 181226Z

IS IN THE GOVERNMENT'S INTEREST TO HAVE AT LEAST A MINIMUM OF MDB SUPPORT. MDB MODERATES BELIEVE THAT THEY CAN BID UP THE VALUE OF THEIR SUPPORT DURING THE NEGOTIATIONS, WRINGING ADDITIONAL CONCESSIONS FROM THE GOVERNMENT. THERE HAVE BEEN HINTS IN THE PRESS THAT THE GOVERNMENT IS WILLING TO NEGOTIATE A PARTIAL LIFTING OF THE FALCAO LAW, WHICH PROHIBITS THE PARTIES' DISCUSSION OF ISSUES ON RADIO AND TELEVISION DURING CAMPAIGNS.

4. THE AUTENTICOS' POSITION IS THAT THE MDB IS IN A NO WIN SITUATION WITH THE GOVERNMENT. THEY DO NOT EXPECT THE ADMINISTRATION'S CHANGES TO BE SIGNIFICANT -- A BELIEF THAT WAS REINFORCED BY GEISEL'S STATEMENT TO THE CONGRESS (REPORTED SEPARATELY) MARCH 1. 22 AUTENTICOS WALKED OUT DURING THAT PORTION OF THE STATEMENT WHICH CONSTITUTED A DEFENSE OF LAST APRIL'S DECREES. AUTENTICOS HOLD THAT THE MDB, BY COOPERATING WITH THE GOVERNMENT IN AN ENTERPRISE THAT THEY EXPECT WILL BE DENOUNCED BY THE PEOPLE, WILL LOSE CREDIBILITY WITH THE ELECTORATE. THEREFORE, THEY ARGUE, LET THE GOVERNMENT PUSH THROUGH ITS CHANGES ON ITS OWN ACCOUNT, USING THE DIMINISHED MAJORITY REQUIREMENTS OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES DECREED LAST APRIL. THE MDB'S ROLE, ACCORDING TO THE AUTENTICOS, IS TO DENOUNCE THE SUBSTANCE AND METHODS OF THE PROPOSED CHANGES, WHILE CALLING FOR A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY AND GENERAL AMNESTY.

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PAGE 01 SAO PA 00801 02 OF 02 181205Z

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 SAO PAULO 0801

5. TANCREDO NEVES HAS TRIED TO WIN OVER THE AUTENTICOS -- SO FAR WITH LITTLE RESULTS -- BY OFFERING A MORE SOPHISTICATED APPROACH. IN AN INTERVIEW WITH FOLHA DE SAO PAULO MARCH 14, TANCREDO STATED THAT "EVERY GOVERNMENT HAS THE OPPOSITION IT DESERVES." HE CHARACTERIZED THE GEISEL ADMINISTRATION AS RADICAL AND INFLEXIBLE, BUT INSINUATED THAT IF IT WERE WILLING TO ACT MORE POLITICALLY WITH THE CONGRESS, THE MDB COULD COOPERATE ON THOSE MEASURES WHICH TRULY CONTRIBUTED TO DEMOCRACY, RESERVING THE RIGHT TO CRITICIZE THE GOVERNMENT WHERE IT FELL SHORT. THIS POSITION HOLDS OUT TO THE GOVERNMENT THE POSSIBILITY OF OBTAINING ITS DESIRED CONSENSUS FOR THE INSTITUTIONAL CHANGES, BUT IT DOES NOT YET OFFER ANYTHING TO EARN THE SUPPORT OF THE AUTENTICOS. MODERATES BELIEVE THAT THE AUTENTICOS WILL RALLY AROUND WHEN THEY SEE RESULTS. BUT IMPLICIT IN THE DIVISION IS THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE MODERATES WILL MAKE A SEPARATE DEAL. AS FAR AS THE GOVERNMENT IS CONCERNED, HOWEVER, SUPPORT OF A PORTION OF THE MDB IS PROBABLY ENOUGH. THOSE WHO REFUSE TO GO ALONG CAN BE CHARACTERIZED AS RADICALS. ON MARCH 14 PRESIDENT GEISEL MADE A FIRST TENTATIVE STEP TOWARD ACCOMMODATING OPPOSITION MODERATES WHEN IN A REPORTED CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 SAO PA 00801 02 OF 02 181205Z

CHANCE ENCOUNTER HE TOLD TANCREDO THAT THE PALACE DOORS WERE OPEN, EVEN FOR THE OPPOSITION. TANCREDO REPORTEDLY RESPONDED THAT HE WOULD GO IF CONVOKED.

6. THE LIMITS TO THIS VERY TENTATIVE CONCILIATORY LINE OF ACTION ARE PROVIDED BY THE NOVEMBER CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS. THE MDB MUST DEVELOP A STRATEGY FOR THE ELECTIONS THAT PRESENT A UNITED PARTY TO THE ELECTORATE OR RUN THE RISK OF A HIGH NUMBER OF BLANK AND PROTEST VOTES. THE MDB FEELS THAT IT HAS, FOR THE FIRST TIME, A CHANCE AT WINNING A MAJORITY OF THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES THIS

YEAR IF THE PARTY WORKS TOGETHER. A MAJORITY WOULD GIVE THE OPPOSITION A BLOCKING VOTE ON CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS, ACCORDING TO CURRENT LEGISLATION. THE MDB PROGRAM, PUT THROUGH BY THE AUTENTICOS LAST YEAR, HOWEVER, STRESSES THE CALLING OF A CONSTITUTENT ASSEMBLY, AND INCREASINGLY, THE CALL FOR A GENERAL AMNESTY. THE REGIME HAS REFUSED TO NEGOTIATE WITH THE OPPOSITION ON THAT BASIS. MDB MODERATES ARE NOW TRYING TO DEVELOP INTERMEDIATE OBJECTIVES, WHICH DO NOT TRY TO ELIMINATE THE POLITICAL AND LEGAL RESTRICTIONS IMPOSED BY THE "REVOLUTION" ALL AT ONCE. MDB PRESIDENT ULYSSES GUIMARAES SUGGESTED IN A PRESS CONFERENCE THAT THE MDB WOULD MAKE A SPECIAL EFFORT TO HAVE THE FALCAO LAW RESCINDED. IN CONVERSATION WITH CONGEN OFFS, HE ALSO SUGGESTED THAT THE MDB MIGHT ATTACK THE GOVERNMENT FROM INCOMPETENCE AND CORRUPTION, AUTENTICO SENATOR MARCOS FREIRE PROPOSED A "TRUTH CARAVAN", TO CRITICIZE SPECIFIC GOVERNMENT POLICIES. GIVEN THE GREAT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MOST ISSUES ADVANCED BY THE MODERATES AND THOSE ENDORSED BY THE AUTENTICOS, IT SEEMS LIKELY THAT THE TWO FACTIONS MAY PAPER OVER THEIR DIFFERENCES BY EXPANDING THE NUMBER OF ISSUES DEFENDED BY THE PARTY- SO EACH CANDIDATE CAN DEFEND THE CAUSES IN WHICH HE BELIEVES. BUT THIS FRAGILE ARRANGEMENT ONLY MAKES POLITICIANS YEARN MORE FOR THE CREATION OF ADDITIONAL PARTIES.

7. IF THE PROSPECT OF ELECTORAL VICTORY IS A UNIFYING FORCE ON
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PAGE 03 SAO PA 00801 02 OF 02 181205Z

THE PARTY, THE PROMISE OF CREATING ADDITIONAL PARTIES IS A STRONG DIVISIVE FORCE. AUTENTICO DEPUTY AIRTON SOARES TOLD CONGEN OFF THAT TRYING TO MAKE THE MDB FACADE FIT THE EMERGING FACTIONS AS THE PARTY SELECTS CANDIDATES FOR VARIOUS ELECTIVE OFFICES WAS AN ENORMOUSLY COMPLICATING FACTOR IN THIS YEARS'S ELECTIONS. POSSIBLE MDB SENATORIAL CANDIDATE - AND LEADER OF A PROTO-SOCIALIST PARTY - FERNANDO HENRIQUE CARDOSO SAID THAT HE FACED OPPOSITION FROM ENTRENCHED LEADERS, SUCH AS FRANCO MONTORO, AND FROM THE COMMUNIST PARTY (PCB). CARDOSO SAID THAT BOTH MONTORO AND THE PCB WERE WORRIED ABOUT COMPETITION ARISING FROM CARDOSO'S APPEAL TO THE YOUNG ELECTORATE. AS THE ELECTION APPROACHES, IT IS BECOMING APPARENT THAT THE FACTIONS WITHIN THE MDB SEE THEMSELVES AS FUTURE COMPEITORS FOR THE VOTES OF ROUGHLY THE SAME ELECTORATE.

8. BOTH MDB FACTIONS MUST ALSO BE CONCERNED ABOUT THE EX-PARTY PRESSURE GROUPS. ALREADY THIS YEAR, THESE GROUPS HAVE STOLEN A MARCH ON THE PARTY BY PRESSING FOR AMNESTY, BY FIGHTING FOR INDEPENDENT LABOR UNIONS, AND BY LAUNCHING A STUDENT-WORKER CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE COST OF LIVING. INDIVIDUAL MDB POLITICIANS HAVE IDENTIFIED WITH THESE CAMPAIGNS, BUT THE CONGRESSIONAL PARTY HAS NOT YET INCORPORATED THEM INTO ITS STRATEGY. FOR THE MOMENT, THE PARTY LEADERSHIP IS OUT OF STEP WITH ITS GRASS ROOTS.

9. THE GOVERNMENT HAS PLAYED ON THE OPPOSITION'S DISCORD BY KEEPING ITS INTENTIONS PURPOSEFULLY FLUID. IT HAS FUZZED THE TIMING

OF THE INTENDED POLITICAL CHANGES. THE GOVERNMENT'S DESIGNATED COORDINATOR OF THE CHANGES, SENATE PRESIDENT PETRONIO PORTELLA, HAS TOLD THE PRESS THAT HE WOULD SUBMIT HIS SUGGESTIONS TO THE PRESIDENT BY APRIL 15, OFFERING TO TALK TO THE MDB ABOUT THEM BETWEEN APRIL 10 AND APRIL 15. PORTELLA AND CHAMBER PRESIDENT MARCO MACIEL HAVE SAID THAT THE CHANGES SHOULD BE SUBMITTED TO THE CONGRESS FOR APPROVAL BY JUNE. AND PRESIDENT DESIGNATE FIGUEIREDO HAS REPORTEDLY SAID SEVERAL TIME TO VISITORS THAT THE CHANGES OR THEIR IMPLEMENTATION, DEPEND ON A SUFFICIENTLY GOOD SHOWING BY ARENA AT THE POLLS IN NOVEMBER. THE GOVERNMENT AND ARENA ARE EXPECTED TO KEEP THE SITUATION AS UNDEFINED AS POSSIBLE THROUGH THE NOVEMBER

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 SAO PA 00801 02 OF 02 181205Z

ELECTIONS IN ORDER TO KEEP THE OPPOSITION DIVIDED.

10. IN SPITE OF ITS TRIBULATIONS, THE MDB'S ELECTORAL PROSPECTS AT THIS POINT ARE GOOD, ESPECIALLY IN THE URBAN CENTRAL-SOUTH. THE GOVERNMENT IS DOING EVERYTHING IT CAN TO NURTURE THE SPLIT IN THE MDB BELOW THE SURFACE TO REDUCE THE CHANCES OF A MDB VICTORY IN THE FALL ELECTION. IT IS REASONBLE TO EXPECT THE MDB TO HOLD TOGETHER FOR THE TIME BEING BECAUSE OF A PRAGMATIC NEED TO MAKE ITS BEST EFFORT IN THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN, BUT THE FORCES OF A RESTLESS SOCIETY AND THE PROSPECT OF INSTITUTIONAL CHANGES MAKE THE CONTINUED LONG TERM UNITY OF THE MDB PROBLEMATIC.

11. EMBASSY CONCURS.
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